

compelled all the people of the Hadhramaut to wear the black dress of the Abbasides. 175

Hadhramaut remained loyal to the Abbasides to the year A.H. 263 (A.D. 877). During this time there had been about 53 Governors in the Hadhramaut. When the reign of the Abbasides came to an end, Hadhramaut became independent once again.

## 2. Yemeni Domination.

We learn from Omārah<sup>1</sup> that the authority of Ibn Ziad, the Yemeni ruler who acquired the power and dignity formerly enjoyed by the Tubbas, extended to the provinces of Hadhramaut, ash Shihr, and Dīār Kinda. East of the Hadhramaut he was master of Merbat, and west, of Abyan, Lahej, and Aden, as well as the Red Sea coast as far as Hali. After the death of Muhammad ibn Ziad, his son Ibrahim and his grandson Ziyad followed. Ziyad was succeeded by his brother 'Abu'l Jeish Ishaq whose reign endured for a long time, according to Ibn Khaldun, until he had reached the age of eighty, though Omārah says he reigned eighty years over "Yemen, Hadhramaut and the maritime islands."

In A.H. 259 (A.D. 873) Muhammad ibn Ya'far succeeded to his father, and was invested by the Caliph al Mutamed, with the Government of San'a. Hadhramaut was included in his dominions, "but he owed allegiance to the Ziyadites and paid them tributes."

The Ziyadite rule lasted a long time, and in A.H. 409 (A.D. 1018) their great Wazir, Ibn Salama, carried out one of his greatest public works. "Among the splendid works executed by Husayn ibn Salāmah must be reckoned the construction of great mosques and lofty minarets along the road from Hadhramaut to the city of Mecca (may God Most High guard it). The distance extends over sixty days' journey. He dug wells and channels with running water in solitary wildernesses, and he erected along the road constructions on which were indicated the distances in miles, in *parasangs*, and in *stages*. Some of these works I have seen, either in good order or in ruins, and of the remainder I have received descriptions from other persons, all agreeing with one another. The first stations were at Shibam and Tarim, two cities of Hadhramaut. (A footnote adds, "Of Tarim, al-Hamdāni merely says that it was a

<sup>1</sup> The Beduins still wear the black of the Abbasides, though they think it was imposed upon them as a punishment. Unlike the townswomen who wear their dresses short in front and long behind, the women of the Beduins wear their dresses long all round, and it is thought that this too is a survival of the Abbasides. 291

<sup>2</sup> It is apparent that the Hadhramaut took hardly to Islam. After several vicissitudes the country shook down to orthodox Shafi'ism, but from the time of the Abbasides paid no more than lip service to the Caliphate. To-day, while there are mosques almost everywhere, one may suspect that the Beduins are more attached to their patron saints, whom they have adopted into Islam, than to orthodox worship. Laxity like this may have not a little to do with the bigotry of the conservative Shi'ite party. 771

<sup>3</sup> See Kay's Omārah, pp. 5, 141-2, 224.

619 given three different accounts of their truces with other tribes. My first informant told me that those in force were with the 'Awāmir for two years, of which three months had passed (this was on 3rd November 1934), with the Murra for six years, five months passed; the Rawashid four years, one year passed; Manāhil two years, five months passed; and Hamumi two years, seven months passed. The Mahra had declined to make a truce with them.

My second informant told me on 15th November 1934, that between the Hamumi and the Sei'ar six months' truce remained, between the Manāhil and the Sei'ar one year, and between the Mahra and the Sei'ar six months. The 'Awābitha living in Wadi 'Adam and Wadi al 'Ain were not on terms with the Sei'ar.

The third and probably better account is that given me by Tanaf bin Seheil bin Rumeidan's son and son-in-law on 1st December 1934. With the 'Awāmir, they said, there was a year's truce of which four months were left, with the Kathiri a year, and one month left, with the Hamumi a year, and two months left, with the Murra, Rawashid, Manāhil, and Yām there were truces for a year of which eleven months were left.

It is stated that the Sei'ars would join the Kathiri if there was trouble with the Qu'aiti, though the latter has a "B" agreement with them.

231 The wealth of the tribe consists of camels and sheep. Their camels are said to be superior in quality to those of the tribes in the south but inferior to those of the Mahras, and their number is estimated to be about 7,000 or 8,000. Bertram Thomas says: "The tribes strongest in camels are the Murra, Manasir and 438 Manāhil, also to some extent, the Se'ar. The Rashid have, of late years, decayed from the depredations of the Se'ar." They have little cultivation though they grow jowari after rain. They go to Shibam to sell saf leaves for making mats, 'elb trunks, and charcoal.

609 Bertram Thomas records the following description of them: 711 "The Se'ar, according to the Rashidis—perhaps a tainted source in view of their relationship—neither pray nor fast. And they mock a Rashidi visitor (in times of peace) who does so, though they swear by Allah and claim to believe in Him. 'They say, God is the Knower! that their ancestors saved the Prophet from the hands of the infidels who were intent on slaying him, and the Prophet granted to him and his heirs exemption from prayer observances. They say so! May God forgive them!'" We learned from the 582 Sei'ars that they will give their girls to prospective husbands on approval. If, after about two months' trial, a bridegroom is satisfied, he will marry the girl; otherwise she is returned to her parents.

622 The Seiyids 'Ali bin Zein, Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, and Ahmed 619 bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas have influence over the Sei'ars.

1/2 [EX 9992 CATEGORY 116 ANALYST]



and the people are natural Muslims having learnt in a hard school absolute submission to the will of God. Religious fanaticism is strongest where the seiyids are strongest. In other places there is greater tolerance and, among the bedouins, it is what a man is rather than what his religion is that counts. 771 181

When we started everybody wanted independence. Many of the old secluded seiyids, whose ideas of independence merely amounted to the exclusion of infidels, had sons and relations who read the Egyptian papers and their ideas of independence were based on grandiose schemes of complete self-government. Some of them, who thought themselves moderate, demanded no more than independence on the Egyptian and Iraqi models and talked airily of Parliaments and so on. In Singapore and Java in 1939 I had petitions presented to me three times demanding this sort of independence. Once at Solo the deputation was pointed out to me as representative: it contained seiyids, tribesmen and a Sultan of the Kathiri family. Only the last had ever been in the Hadhramaut. He asked me if he might see me privately after the meeting and then asked me to arrange independence for Jahiz. Jahiz was his village in the Wadi 'Amd and consists of five houses. The tribesmen, settled and bedouin, wanted independence; the bedouin claim was at least easy to understand for all it amounted to was that their freedom in the hills and deserts should be undisturbed. The settled tribesmen were and are more difficult. Every little section considered itself independent, and the more powerful, who could afford not only to arm themselves but to buy and arm private forces of slaves, did all they could to extend their boundaries at the expense of their neighbours. 648 185 619

The strangest example of this kind of campaign was that of the Bin 'Abdat section of the Kathiri tribe, who own much landed property in Singapore and Java. The treaty chief of the Kathiris is the Kathiri Sultan whose capital is Seiyun. About 1928 the head of the Bin 'Abdat section forcibly occupied the walled town of Al Ghurfa, belonging to some unarmed sheikhs. This brought him into conflict with the Kathiri Sultan, who was supported by the Qu'aiti Sultan, and with the neighbouring heads of other Kathiri sections. War ensued which carried on with little interruption till 1937. Bin 'Abdat built up a respectable force of slaves and tribesmen of his own and constructed an elaborate system of forts and trenches which extended right across the Wadi Hadhramaut some three miles or more, and almost to the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary at Shibam. In the course of the fighting, a curious armoured vehicle was imported from Java, which was intended to be towed by a motor car into the enemy camp. Bin 'Abdat acquired a very large stock of ammunition and really good rifles at very high prices. The Qu'aiti Sultan brought artillery, ancient and modern, to the aid of the Kathiri, but no decision was ever reached. 669 721

When I came to the Hadhramaut in 1936 Bin 'Abdat instructed his lawyer in Singapore to address a letter to the Government in which he claimed to be an "independent rajah." He was informed that the only recognized treaty chiefs in the main Hadhramaut were the Qu'aiti and 669 648

701 the first two or three years. It has its headquarters at Mukalla and posts  
 702 in most of the more important bedouin areas. Service in it is now very  
 popular and almost all tribes are represented. Its members are trained  
 not only as soldiers but also as settlers of disputes by pacific means. The  
 [743] force runs, with Mukalla Government assistance, a small military hospital  
 which is the first hospital to have been established in the Hadhramaut and  
 serves all the forces. To promote bedouin education and bedouin agri-  
 culture and to control locusts, it has enlisted teachers and agricultural  
 soldiers, and they are almost all young seiyids of good family who hitherto  
 had thought it quite unheard of to do any work. They were enlisted as  
 ordinary soldiers and went through some military training without arms  
 but had to do all the ordinary fatigues such as digging and road making.  
 877 The teachers were given a teachers' training course and they now operate  
 758 an admirable boarding school for a hundred bedouin boys; district schools  
 have also been started at some of the outposts. The teachers have dis-  
 731 pensary courses at Aden so that in an elementary way medical assistance  
 and education are now available in bedouin districts. At some of these  
 657 places the teachers also run grain shops for famine relief, where Govern-  
 ment grain is sold at cost price to bedouins.

871 A good start had also been made with a bedouin girls' boarding school.  
 A few bedouin women are already proving successful as nursing assistants  
 759 and I hope that some of these girls will afterwards become nurses and  
 teachers.

000 So much for the Residency organization. The object has been to help  
 the State to become effective in its government and to make the best use  
 it can of its resources. I have always tried to look at things from the point  
 of view of the State only, in the way that the treaty, as explained in the  
 Note, required. But in view of the exclusive nature of the people I have  
 in addition always worked as if I were one of them. I have, at their  
 [272] request, worn their clothes; as it is illegal to possess alcohol in the Hadhra-  
 maut, my house has always been "dry" and we have, outside the privacy  
 of our own quarters, always lived as the country lives. I am sure that  
 it is because of working and living as a part of the people that we have been  
 able to do as much as we have. What I have done on my own initiative has  
 not been questioned because it has not been felt that it was done by a  
 foreigner or for a foreign Government.

609 As a Christian I had at first difficulty in finding acceptance by a com-  
 munity which feels it almost impossible to understand even the existence  
 ● 771 of Christian Arabs. In various parts of the country the objection was  
 648 always brought up that the signing of treaties providing for advisers  
 would mean the introduction of missionaries and the building of churches.  
 I have always told them that missionaries would not be forced on them,  
 and I have further said that these States were recognized as Muslim Arab  
 States and that, as a member of an Arab Muslim Government, I felt it my  
 000 duty to support the State religion. Personally, although I cannot claim  
 any particular orthodoxy in religion, I find inspiration for my work in the

000 faith in which I was brought up, but when, in such a position as I have held, I have to deal with people of another faith, I feel it is essential to help and encourage them to live up to the best in their own faith, 771 for a live religious spirit is a vital necessity to all progress. The Had- 871 hramaut is sadly afflicted, as I have said, by over-emphasis on formalism, but I have found great support in pressing more and more the necessity of working and living in the spirit of religion. This type of teaching is employed in educating troops and boys and girls in the new schools, particularly in the children's village and in the bedouin boys' and girls' schools. My educational assistant has a candidate for training as a teacher of the spirit of religion, leaving the other teachers to teach, for example, the methods of prayer and fasting. In the course of time it has been generally accepted that the position of religion in the affairs of the country is being strengthened and not weakened.

#### TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS FROM EXPERIENCE IN THE HADHRAMAUT

114 As I spent the first fifteen years of my service in Zanzibar and Mauritius and have had opportunities of studying the administration of East Africa, Malaya and the West Indies, whether on the spot or in the Colonial Office, it is natural for me to approach consideration of the best way to help backward areas in the Middle East, like the Hadhramaut, to more effective self government, by comparison with the better known colonial methods of approach to the same goal.

000 It seems to me that if success is ultimately achieved in teaching the people of such areas to govern themselves it will probably not be by the traditional methods of colonial administration. The practical difficulties of doing so seem to be due to the nature of the country, to the nature of the people and to political considerations. The country is mainly desert and our colonial tradition has been built up in lands (600) capable of economic development. Owing to their environment the people, taking them as a whole, are neither simple nor tractable and, by contrast with most peoples of tropical dependencies, they are suspicious of outside interference. As the close control of any part of Arabia is looked on with dislike by other parts of Arabia and as there is, as far as I can see, no over-riding necessity for us to control such an area as the Hadhramaut closely, it does not on political grounds seem worth while to do so. The less we interfere with the internal

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Women, according to a visitor from that locality, have no special hair customs in Hadhramaut other than shaving round the temple to show as wide an expanse of forehead as possible.

EXORCISM, SPIRITS, JINNS, SACRIFICES.<sup>1</sup>

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The mountaineers, although normally belonging to the *Shafi* sect of Islam, are full of pagan cults which excite the ire of the orthodox Moslem visitor. I have already in my paper under reference explained the details of Ra'aba Hamra spirit exorcism and snake-bite cure—the imprecations in the Shahara tongue of the mountains, the raising and lowering of bodies, the spitting on the wound. At Shisur I noticed that the proceedings were terminated by a rifle fired into the air. That, however, is the procedure for the "Evil Eye," so here this bravery was dispensed with. The cure did not work, however, and was followed by another next day. This, called *Habil*, was a kind of divination and propitiation. The practitioner, rope in hand, sat about three paces from his patient. A third party was called to hold the end of the rope. Taking an arbitrary length of it with the thumb and forefinger of one hand, the practitioner measured the outstretched length of it with his disengaged arm by means of forearm's length, hand span and finger breadth. The operation he repeated three times, each occasion preceded by a pause, to bend his head low over the rope and shake his head, making a curious burbling noise with his lips, and to take a handful of sand which he sprinkled up and down the rope. In conclusion he looked up at his patient and gave him the following remedy: "at sunset take so many dates and so much *samn* (butter) and go and cast it away upon the sands."

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These mountain tribes are much afraid of the Evil Eye, not only for themselves, but equally for their flocks and herds. The ceasing of lactation is invariably ascribed to *Ain Bakis*. The cure is frankincense. I witnessed the ceremony on occasion and made a cinema film of it, though it is usually performed at sunrise or at sunset. The incense burner was brought and wood introduced and lighted. The practitioner, the cow-owner, broke a fragment of frankincense about the size of a walnut into three pieces. Then spitting upon it three times he introduced it into the burner. While two other witnesses held the afflicted animal by head and leg and, solemnly, he waved about its head the burning frankincense, chanting a set sacrificial chant.

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For human sickness a cow or a sheep is sacrificed, the blood being sprinkled over the patient's shoulders and breasts when the sun is high overhead; the animal must be female. For sacrifices at human deaths, male and female animals are alike held virtuous.

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A Sayid met me in the mountains and asked me whether I knew of anything to pacify *Afarit*. His wife had had a series of miscarriages. *Afarit* were the cause. There are many evil spirits—*Afarit*, *jinnas*, *jinnyas* and *Zars*. *Zars*<sup>2</sup> are the most accommodating, *jinnas* sometimes yield, but *Afarit*—they are Allah's worst affliction.

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The sacrifice of animals in case of death varies with the importance and wealth of the deceased. In small and average estates one half of his cows are sacrificed. In big estates

<sup>1</sup> Detailed descriptions will be found in my *Arabia Felix* (Jonathan Cape, 1932).

<sup>2</sup> A detailed description of the "Zar" cult as practised in Oman is given in my *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia* (Allen and Unwin, 1931).

## SOCIAL SERVICES

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culture and winning a reputation for the Hadhramaut as a centre of religious education. 000

No parallel cultural or social development occurred in the recent past in the other areas of the Eastern Protectorate or in the Western Protectorate. Any development of education initiated by Government had therefore to contend with two different problems. On the one hand, there was in the Hadhramaut an appreciable number of cultured people who might become teachers after a short time of training, but in whom this advantage was offset by a tendency towards religious fanaticism and obscurantism. On the other hand, in the rest of the Protectorate the people were mainly illiterate and there was thus no immediate supply of potential teachers. This deficiency of trained teachers remains the biggest problem in Protectorate education to-day. 178  
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## HEALTH

*Western Aden Protectorate*

The development of the Protectorate Medical Service was rather upset in the past three years by numerous changes of senior medical staff. However, one advantage came from this, namely that in the drawing up of a plan for future development, co-operative help and advice was given by every doctor and nurse who ever worked in the Protectorate. 759

At the beginning of the year, a three-month course was given for new tribal dressers, who were posted to work under senior dressers in the Protectorate.

It is estimated that in the course of the year 50,000 patients were treated in the 18 dispensaries. Malaria, dysentery, schistosomiasis and tuberculosis were the four most prevalent diseases. Obstetrical problems and gynaecology offer a very large field for research. Owing to customs necessitating the seclusion of women any estimate of these problems is pure conjecture. In spite of these restrictions, the Medical Officer attended a great many during his visits, especially in Beihan at the very edge of "the empty quarter" of Arabia. A number of those who otherwise would never receive surgical treatment were flown down to the hospital at Aden. Venereal disease was unfortunately on the increase in Abyan, where crowds of people of all kinds came to find work in the agricultural project there. 743  
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Many visits including some of several days duration were paid by the Medical Officer to the various dispensaries in the Protectorate during which between 4,000 and 5,000 selected patients were treated. Besides those patients who found their own way down to hospital in Aden, 150 or more were brought down on the Protectorate Medical Officer's recommendation.

## HOUSING

The settled Western Aden Protectorate population is housed for the main part in mud-brick and stone dwellings, while the nomads live under camel-hair tents, straw huts, thatched-palm huts, and even under matting placed over vegetation or trees. 342

- 342 passages connect the house with the lower portion as well as with the flat roof of the mosque. In the hot season the sunset and evening ritual prayers are always performed on the roof, and the 'ālim<sup>1</sup> sits here in the evenings, teaching the recitation of the Koran to a circle of lads. A sayyid who has made his fortune abroad will first build a mosque in his native village and afterwards a big house for himself. For does he not owe the privileged position in his own country to religion, and to Allah's help the riches that he has successfully amassed in foreign lands? The abnormally large number of fine mosques in the poor country of Hadramaut is the result.
- 353 As in the other houses, the passages and stairs in Sayyid el-Bārr's house are plastered with light-brown mud mixed with finely chopped straw. The floor is always ribbed in a design of waving lines imprinted into the mud whilst it is wet. There are wooden pillars in the large rooms as there are no strong supporting beams for the construction of the roofs, which are always made of the split trunks of date-palms. The fibrous, brown stem of the tree is often plastered over with mud or covered with a wattle-work made of the split ribs of the leaves of the date-palm. Rust-red, black or white are the tasteful colours used in such wattle-work and, indeed, also on the layer of mud.
- 352 One usually enters the *madjlis* or reception-room by a door in the middle of the shortest wall. On either side of the door there are great wooden chests, in which the sleeping-mattresses and pillows are hidden away during the day-time. These heavy, finely carved chests, decorated with tin-plated iron, are frequently the only ornament of the room. The window openings are small and close to the ground. In the houses of the rich, the wooden shutters and framework of the windows are carved. The floors are covered with simple mats of plaited palm-leaves over which the rich people lay carpets.

104 <sup>1</sup> 'Ālim (علمي), a learned man, in this case, a man who thoroughly knows the religion.

619 The tribesman forms the real fighting strength of the Sultanate, and provides his own weapons, drawing ammunition—or its equivalent in cash—from the Sultan, when on state service. His hardihood, activity, and keen sight make him a formidable opponent. He has a natural aptitude for scouting and possesses remarkable powers of endurance, being independent of much transport, whilst the constant friction along the tribal borders engenders a high state of combatant training. The Sultan frequently uses one tribe to fight another as a punishment for raiding, but he cannot claim tribal service against tribal interests; any real emergency, however, will bring the tribesmen in. Individuals and small detachments will serve an alien for pay beyond the limits of their tribeship.

701 The tribesmen are really civilians (a term used for want of a better, though this word does not exactly translate the Arabic word *rawi*, plural *raya*), but prepared at a moment's notice to leave flocks and camels, farms or pasture, or trekking, when danger threatens clan, tribe, or Sultanate. They give no regular military service under any condition, nor do they practise the use of weapons, but content themselves with the reluctant payment of a tax and the unavoidable imposts of the Government that guards their lives and property. They may be divided into the following classes: merchants, of more or less influence and wealth; mechanics and artisans; the '*hejris*' or freed serfs, usually attached to some chief as agricultural labourers or to some master craftsman; and lastly, and lowest in the social scale, the slaves, the males serving as retainers or subordinate husbandmen and the females as domestic servants or attendants on children. The latter class, however, are slaves only in name, having usually their own *menage*, and they remain in one family from generation to generation; they are mostly Swahilis and Nubians. One other class needs passing mention—the *shāhids* or bards, whose duty, in the exercise of their profession, is to stimulate the tribal standard of chivalry by heroic strains of former prowess, or with stinging satire to lash a slothful ruler to martial vigour. When belligerent tribes are set in battle, it is the *shāhids* on either side who urge the courage of the combatants.

702 In religion two schools of the Sunni creed—the Hanifi (or philosophic school) and the Shafei—are followed, the latter, the nearest to the early Islamic tradition, being the more general. The practice of religion varies, of course, in different districts, and among some of the nomad races it is little more than a name. Speaking of religious observance among the people of this region as a whole, Bury says: 'The laity, while fanatical to the verge of

## POPULATION

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frenzy on religious matters, and ever ready to accuse any one, whose actions are not readily explained, of being an infidel, are apt to be rather slack in their devotions. Some even shirk their prayers at sunset, when such exercises are obligatory. Much of this attitude, however, has to do with their turbulent mode of life and illiteracy, for the most nonchalant are always ready to "fall in" behind any man who has the gift of prayer and follow his attitude and genuflections, giving the responses with devout accuracy and attention. As to the religious self-denial with which they observe the fast of Ramadan (refusing to avail themselves of the exemption extended by the Koran to all travellers, sick persons, &c.) their austerity would shame more civilized Mussulmans.

## PRODUCTS AND INDUSTRIES

The products of this region are so similar to those of the Yemen that they need no special treatment; and the crops are referred to in detail in the section on climate. The staple food-stuff of the country is either *dhura* or *dukhn*. Of *dhura* there are two chief varieties: white and red. The staple fodder for animals is, universally, the stalks and leaves of *dhura* and *dukhn*. As to the native industries they are not of any great importance, but attention may be called to the following:

Boat-building is carried on to a limited extent. Though a very great number of native craft of very varied type ply in Aden harbour and around the coast of this district, only 'jolly-boats' are built at Aden; they are after the model of an English rowing-boat, with heavier and stronger frames, and of very rough workmanship. Mat-making and string-making are carried on chiefly in the neighbourhood of Aden. Dry leaves of the *dom* and date-palms are imported from the ports of the Dankali and from Musawwa', and are manufactured into mats. String is also made by twisting the leaves together with the hand; this is called 'Aden string'. To make mats the leaves are divided into small strips, which are plaited into a ribbon three or four inches wide and of great length. The ribbon is stitched or spliced spirally into a cylindrical shape, the circumference representing the required breadth, and the axis the necessary length; this hollow cylinder is then cut down with a knife parallel to the axis, and the broken edges are bound. Somali women are exceedingly expert in the manufacture of such mats, which are in great request for sleeping purposes. The coarser kinds are largely used for the construction of sheds and the roofing of houses. Plates, baskets, sacks, and many other articles are made of such strips of matting.